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AN INTRODUCTION TO MASCULINITIES

INTRODUCTION

When trying to understand gender development, the physical body becomes the focus of the argument. This cannot be ignored, and in the vast majority of cases is very similar between members of the same sex. Here I mean similarity in terms of having the same physiology, rather than physical experience.

Traditional psychological theories of gender development (like the biological, psychoanalytic or social learning theory) tend to see a masculinity (or a femininity) that develops through childhood. But the process has stopped by adulthood, and the gender was set. However, these traditional theories cannot account for the variety of behaviours within masculinity (or femininity).

For social constructionists, biological differences between men and women are "not a physical given", but the "active interpretation of nature and society" (Wetherell 1996).

The first and most important point is that gender (ie: knowing what is the "appropriate" behaviour of your biological sex) is not something automatic. For social constructionists identity is "actively constructed" from a choice of how to behave in different situations, what to look like, and what to wear among other things.

Wetherell (1996) focusing on the construction of masculinity, sees it as an "active project". She mentions five aspects to masculinity:

i) It is both personal and social - "social scripts about masculinity become part of the individual, defining what comes naturally or what feels right" (p321).

ii) It is connected to other social institutions - work is crucial in the definition of masculinity; traditionally hard, physical work as a sign of a "real man".

iii) Importantly, there is no single gender identity, but multiple - thus "masculinities". It is possible to distinguish working-class and middle-class masculinities, and black masculinities. Each of these influenced by living in a particular economic society (ie: capitalism in the West), and within a system of power (primarily patriarchy).

iv) Definitions of what is masculine must be seen in

the context of a comparison with other men, and in comparison with femininity.

v) The importance of power relations in constructing masculinity - traditional masculinity has become associated with privilege.

MASCULINITIES

Connell (1995) argues that power relations between men have developed four types of masculinity:

a) Hegemonic - the dominant ideal type of masculinity. Connell (1995) defines it as the:

configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. This is not to say the most visible bearers of hegemonic masculinity are always the most powerful people (p77).

b) Marginal - a type which is not persecuted nor ideal, like black masculinities.

c) Subordinated - forms of masculinity which are persecuted by the ideal (eg: gay identity).

d) Complicit - identities that reject the ideal to some extent, but do not challenge it.

These different masculinities can be seen in the media images of "absent father", "football hooligan", "Essex man", or "New man" (Mac An Ghail 1996).

Mac An Ghail (1996) points out that when looking at any of the masculinities, there are points to note:

a) The importance of the relationship between masculinities, sexualities and power;

b) The cultural production of the masculinities within local institutional sites (1);

c) The contradictions within any masculinity.

Power relations between men and women may have changed in recent years, but it is far from equality. As Brittan (1989) points out: "what has changed is not male power as such, but its form, the presentation and the packaging".

The change can be seen as from "private patriarchy" to "public patriarchy" (Walby 1990). In the former situation, women were the property of their husbands and fathers (as in Victorian England), and a direct exclusion of women from public life. "Public patriarchy" is not commonly administered by a single man, like the husband, but it is a segregation of women within public life into certain areas.

While there have been many changes which facilitate women's entry to the public sphere there are not so many which improve the position of women within it (Walby 1990 p171) (eg: "feminization of poverty").

Connell (1995) talks about a "patriarchal dividend" that men generally gain in terms of honour and prestige, and materially with higher average wages than women. For example, the average full-time income of women is 80% that of men for comparable jobs (Smith 1995).

However, Connell (1987) does reject patriarchy as explaining all power, and emphasises four structures that preserve hegemonic masculinity:

- The hierarchies of institutional violence, like the police;
- The hierarchies of heavy industries;
- The control of the State;
- "Working-class milieus"; eg: working men's clubs.

CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITIES

It is important to note that masculinity is a "contested territory", of which the male version of masculinity and femininity tends to win. Edley and Wetherell (1996) shows how historically certain discourses of masculinity and femininity have come to dominant. For example, in the early 19th century:

British churches began talking from their pulpits about the "natural" inequalities between the sexes. Women, they said, were naturally more delicate, fragile and morally weak; a fact, which, they suggested, made women less well suited to the cut and thrust of business and politics.. Men have dominated over women, by and large, because they have managed to gain a stranglehold on meaning (p104).

French (1994) shows how these meanings have come to appear "natural".

FAMILY

A key institution in the construction of heterosexual masculinity is the family. But Tolson (1977) argues that the experience is different for working class and middle class boys and men. For working class boys the father is teaching masculinity:

Fathers legislate and punish yet their "masculine presence" is realised in their absence from home while at work. For a son, masculinity is a "promise of the world of work and power" (Heward 1996 p36).

As opposed to the Social Learning Theory where children learn specific behaviours from observing their parents, the boy is learning that the man is not present at home, yet still maintains the authority. The mother saying to the child who has been naughty, "wait until your father gets home" conforms this.

The autobiography of Robert Roberts (1978), born into a working class family in Salford, shows the process of the construction of masculinity at work, but also the ambivalence of this process.

Roberts senior was a patriarch, who assumed his right to control his family's lives was justified by the significance of skilled manual work in local labour markets. For him all men who did not work with their hands were somehow emasculated.. Patriarchal authority was unstable in the Roberts household, maintained by the means of his father's fierce temper (Heward 1996 p37).

While for middle class boys, their experiences focused on being sent away to public schools. This produced a "psychi-hardening within a competitive hierarchy". Heward (1988) shows, in a study of Ellesmere College (a minor public school) between 1929 and 1950, how the school power structure was clearly defined as a series of hierarchies - based on age, "streaming", and games. But these experiences are outside the family, yet prepare the boy for the secondary importance of the family in adulthood. The public school prepares the boys for an occupation, a place in the community, and the "values of Churchill's England". This was middle class masculinity of that period.

Current conceptions of masculinity can be contradictory. Rutherford (1988) talks about "retributive man" and "new man" in modern British society. The former is the traditional breadwinner image (tough, competitive, and emotionally inarticulate), and "new man" is "a

softer, more sensitive and caring individual, who also avoids sexist language, changes nappies and loves to shop all day for his own clothes" (Edley and Wetherell 1997).

Westwood (1996) looks at the reaction of predominantly middle class males at the work of the Child Support Agency in the 1990s. In particular, the imposition of maintenance payments upon "absent fathers".

The public shaming exercise of the CSA in relation to absent fathers was a body blow to the self conceptions of men who created an image of themselves as loving, responsible fathers (p33).

SCHOOL

School generally is a key institution in the construction of masculinities. Heward and Mac An Ghail (1996) highlight three aspects of school which are involved:

i) Teacher cultures

This concerns teacher ideologies, and the use of discipline. For example, the "competent teacher" keeps their class quiet, and the most common way is through discipline and force. "Good teaching" does not use corporal punishment, but there are other ways of coercion. "Good teachers" are seen as "real men", and "bad teachers" have "problems" (Wolpe 1988). These are the characteristics of masculinity, showing any sign of weakness is feminine.

ii) Student culture and the use of language

Boys clearly defined masculinity that "required men to be strong and powerful and not express any weakness" (Haywood and Mac An Ghail 1996).

Haywood (1993 quoted in Haywood and Mac An Ghail 1996) notes how academic pupils ("Academic Achievers") were called "poofs" by the "Dominant Heterosexuals" in her study of a 6th Form. The "Dominant Heterosexuals" believed in schooling, but also in outside activities, like dating. While the "Academic Achievers" resisted this process with terms, like "spanner" for the "Dominant Heterosexuals" when they failed in class. "Dominant Heterosexuals" validated their masculinity through heterosexual relationships, while "Academic Achievers" used academic competence.

iii) Curriculum

Traditionally schools have used "streaming", and this produces academic hierarchies. In a sense, this is a preparation for society. Depending on the position in the hierarchy, different constructions of masculinity evolve.

Mac An Ghail (1994) distinguishes between "Macho Lads", who reject schooling, and "Academic Achievers". For "Macho Lads", masculinity included honesty, being different, individuality and autonomy. Being at the bottom of the hierarchy produced a different masculinity to the "Academic Achievers" at the top, who endorsed the values of the curriculum.

WORK

Work is clearly important in the construction of masculinities. Collinson and Hearn (1996) list five discourses of masculinity found within work organisations - authoritarianism, paternalism, entrepreneurialism, informalism, and careerism.

Traditionally male dominated workplaces allow men the opportunity to:

engage in a type of power play by which they use sexuality to put women in their "proper" subordinate role in relation to men (Di Tomaso 1989).

This can be seen in the "soft porn pin-ups" on walls, or the informally dealing with sexual harassment issues (ie: their downplaying, even the positioning of the perpetrator as victim) (Collinson and Collinson 1992). There is also a "homosociability"; ie: a preference for male company among men.

These behaviours are especially prominent on the shopfloor. Traditional working class masculinity means manual work.

Informal shopfloor interaction between men manual workers is often highly aggressive, sexist, and derogatory, humorous yet insulting, playful but degrading. New members are teased incessantly and tested to see whether they are "man enough" to take the insults couched in the humour of "piss taking" and the embarrassment of highly explicit sexual references. Those who display a willingness to "give it and take it" are accepted into the masculine sub-culture, while those who "snap" have failed this particular test of manhood and are likely to be kept at a distance (Collinson and Hearn 1996 p68).

But if work is important in the construction of masculinities, then unemployment challenges the "hegemonic masculinity" of the breadwinner. For example, some unemployed men reported the fear that their wives would leave them for another man with a job. They felt emasculated (Willott and Griffin 1996). Thus casual work is seen to reaffirm their identity, and "gets them out of the house".

However, when we are talking about work, we are talking about a specific thing - paid work in a "consumer capitalist system" (2). This means that not only unemployment, but unpaid work and housekeeping are devalued.

One of the defining features of capitalism is its competitive basis and organisation around a struggle for comparative advantage.. Competition is evident, too, within the hierarchical structure of modern corporations as the workforce attempt to gain qualifications and promotions. Capitalist production is also organised around a series of divisions between home and work, between work and leisure, private life and public life. Current working practices create basic divisions between people: for example, between those producing goods and those in management, and between paid and unpaid work (Wetherell 1996 p328).

Thus Siedler (1991) argues that such a system encourages men to split their sense of identity between a "private self" and a "working personality". Capitalism favours self-control and self-discipline, and along with this division of the self, it produces the "silent, unemotion" man. Siedler believes that men are thus "working machines": "closed and separate from others, fearful of intimacy and vulnerability, regulated, controlled and disciplined" (Wetherell 1996).

But this experience is different for the middle class manager or the working class manual worker, Middle class men are more deluded in capitalism; ie: they have an ambiguous position.

Instead of seeing work as just something they have to do to get by, they are more likely to invest themselves in their work, and to see their public identities or working selves as much more central to who they "really" are as people. So while working class men might be more obviously oppressed and alienated by capitalism, the self-estrangement for middle class men may be equally profound (Edley and Wetherell 1996 p103).

HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

This is the dominant masculinity in any culture, and at this time in history in the West, "hardness" is a key feature. Not only do the aforementioned institutions help to construct this pattern, but all areas of life are involved.

Canaan (1996) shows how even the leisure situation of young working class males is involved - in particular, drinking and then fighting to reaffirm "hardness".

..when young men went out drinking, they were ranking themselves relative to those around them to determine who they could, and could not, beat up if a fight occurred. Fighting required psychological awareness of oneself and others as well as physical control (p119).

But more than that:

..they fought to show peers either that they controlled themselves and any opponent(s) - if they won a fight - or, if they lost, that they could take a beating and therefore control bodily pain (p123).

Within hegemonic masculinity, heterosexuality is a crucial element. This can be seen in the attitude towards gay men generally, and to HIV/AIDS specifically. Mac An Ghail (1996) points out that:

widespread attempts to blame gay men for the virus, to construct them as a threat to the "mainstream population", and to deny the reality of heterosexual transmission of HIV, represent attempts to police the psychic and social boundaries of hegemonic heterosexual masculinities..(p9).

Redman (1996) argues that HIV has "questioned the naturalness and universality of heterosexuality".

The existence of HIV has also influenced the heterosexual relationship.

For women even to negotiate safer sexual practices with their male partners questions the conventional basis of sexual activity in which it is boys and men who determine the contours, the meanings and practices of standard heterosexuality (Redman 1996 p169).

ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITIES

One of the key variants of masculinity is based upon

ethnicity. Not only are ethnic minority men in the same system as all other men, and thus the same messages, but there are contradictory messages specifically for them. "The message to black men from patriarchy is to 'be a man'; the message from capitalism is 'no chance'" (Clatterbaugh 1990).

Westwood (1990) has shown these contradictions at work with young British working class black men and the concept of "streetwise". This is:

a way of acting out conventional masculine expectations for emotional control and independence while developing strategies for coping with racist violence, poverty and the police (Wetherell 1996 p331).

Being "streetwise" includes "the ability to handle the dangers of street life", knowing how to handle yourself with the police, and "an intimate knowledge of the locality.. to disappear quickly if there was trouble" (Westwood 1990).

FOOTNOTES

1. "Institutional sites" include social class structures, industrial power relations and work, ethnic differences, the family, and gender relations themselves.

2. "Consumer capitalism" is a specific form of modern capitalism, which is associated often with "post-modernity" (Brewer 2001b). The two key characteristics of "consumer capitalism" are:

i) that a large majority of production is concentrated on consumer goods ie non-necessities for survival;

ii) the need to sell more each time to increase profits every year, but in the context of saturated markets. Thus the pressure to "create" new markets or expand existing ones (Brewer 2001a).

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Human Cognition and Cognitive Science: A Review of the Limitations of Modelling Human Cognition using Computer Technology - Part 5: Sociological and Cultural Factors

INTRODUCTION

In this article we list a number of ways in which human cognition is influenced by sociological variables and by culture. To describe how computer modelling may incorporate these factors, we focus entirely on the modelling of cultural aspects of cognition. The sociological aspects of cognition (particularly class and gender issues) tend to be contested and stable models of behaviour have yet to emerge from these. As in the case of modelling physiological effects on cognition, a comprehensive cognitive model incorporating both sociological and cultural factors would be complex to incorporate the many interactions that are bound to emerge between these social influences on behaviour.

Precise experimental data upon which to build such a model is almost certainly not available, and so only certain features of these social influences upon cognition can be modelled in current computer systems. There is much scope for further research at the lowest level - ie: to build up a clearer picture of how both sociological and cultural factors combine to affect human behaviour.

SOCIOLOGY

Although specific differences in human cognition attributed to sociological factors are not clearly defined, it is generally accepted in the sociological literature (eg: Bradley 1996) that human behaviour is affected by the following four sociological variables:

- Gender
- Age
- Ethnicity
- Social class.

Gender

The study of cognitive differences between the two genders is controversial and we do not make general statements here. Further information may be found in the literature (eg: Eagley 1987; Kimura 1992).

Age

A major cognitive difference that may be attributed to age is the change in memory between younger and older people . The difference between child learning and adult (from teenage upwards) learning is also recognised (eg: Arlin 1975). These differences may be loosely thought of as "physiological" effects. Thus the subject's biological make-up, in this case the growth, development and changes in the brain, influence age related changes in cognition. From this point of view, differences in cognition due to age may be modelled in the same way as other physiological factors as discussed in Allsopp and Brewer (2001).

Social Class

The cognitive differences resulting from social class have not really been studied to any depth - other than the way in which the use of language by members of different class groups might affect their children's thinking.

In a controversial study, Bernstein (1961) suggests that the use of more basic language with less emphasis on reasoning and explanation by the working classes (restricted code) may result in less complex reasoning abilities in their children compared to the middle classes brought up with more varied language and reasoned explanations (elaborated code).

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is the study of differences in behaviour between different ethnic groups in the same culture. In this article we assume - for the sake of brevity - that in the discussion of cognitive differences due to culture that follows, that there will be an overlap between these differences and those noted between members of different ethnic groups living in the same culture. We assume that the comments made in the next section are generally applicable to ethnic groups living in a single culture, although we would expect differences between ethnic groups to show more toned-down variations than would be observed between different cultures.

CULTURE

There is no agreed definition of culture. For Rohner (1984), culture is an organised system of meanings which members of a culture attribute to persons, events, and objects.

While a sociology textbook points out:

Human beings learn how to behave. They share much of their behaviour with other members of the society to which they belong. The learned, shared behaviour of members of a society is known as culture. Sociologists use the term culture to refer to the way of life of members of a society. Culture includes the values, beliefs, customs, rules and regulations which human beings learn as members of a society. People need culture to meet even the most basic of human needs. For example, they have no instincts to tell them what is edible and how to prepare food and eat it. They learn these lessons from the culture of the society (Haramlambos 1986).

Culture highly influences human behaviour. It is not surprising, then, to find that culture affects human cognition in a number of ways. Studies have shown that memory, perception, thinking and problem solving are all influenced by culture:

Memory

Culture influences the recall of events. This is particularly seen in recall of those things that do not fit in with cultural expectations or norms (Bartlett 1932).

In a study carried out by Harris et al (1989), stories about everyday life were told in English (ie: an American version) and Spanish (ie: a Mexican version) to a group of participants from both countries. The participants tended to recall events in the stories to fit their cultural stereotypes. For example, when the Mexican participants related the story of an evening out back to the story-teller, the girl in the story had a chaperone with her on the date. Harris et al concluded that "the appropriate cultural schemas were clearly operating here, most likely in the sense of directing retrieval processes".

Perception

Cultural differences in the susceptibility to visual illusions - and therefore differences in perception have been noted between subjects of different cultures (Segall et al 1963; Deregowski 1972).

A study by Brown and Lenneberg (1954) has indicated that there may be differences in colour perception based on the words available to express them in the subjects native language - but this has been challenged in later studies.

Thinking and Problem-Solving

Differences in attributing causes and reasons for other peoples behaviours vary according to culture (religion may well be a major factor here). Thus in a study, Miller (1984) noted that American and Hindu Indian participants give different explanations for other peoples good and bad behaviour.

In a study of probabilistic thinking (ie the tendency to adopt probabilistic sets, discrimination of uncertainty and the ability to express uncertainty meaningfully as numerical probability) differences between British, Hong Kong, Malaysian and Indonesian students were identified (Wright et al 1978).

COMPUTER MODELLING OF CULTURAL EFFECTS

In the computer modelling community, particularly for threat assessment and strategy planning by the defence organisations of many countries, the ability to in some way predict potential problem areas in peace keeping and operations other than war has recently inspired research in incorporating cultural models into threat assessment simulations (Lannon et al 2001).

Previous "bi-polar" views of military conflict involving Western and Russian forces are no longer applicable and fail to describe the nuances of modern conflicts. For example, during the analysis of the "Desert Storm" conflict, there was an assumption that Iraqi ground forces would operate using Russian Doctrine, as they use Russian military equipment. This was shown not to be the case, and that even if Russian doctrine was being implemented, it was carried out "through an Iraqi lens and not in a Russian manner" (Villahermosa quoted in Lannon et al 2000).

Research at the US National Ground Intelligence Center has identified a library of descriptions of ground forces that belong to the following group headings (Lannon et al 2000):

- Equipment
- Force Structure
- DTTP (Doctrine, Tactics, Techniques and Procedures).

A single description (model) from each of these groups is selected and combined to provide the template model of a force. In initial construction of template armies, there was no consideration of cultural factors. But with recent emphasis on operations-other-than-war analysis, the inclusion of cultural factors within these models has become important (Lannon et al 2001).

CULTURAL DIMENSIONS THAT IMPACT COMMAND DECISION PROCESS MODELS

In order to improve the modelling of command decision processes (CDP) of foreign forces, five culturally linked "dimensions" that impact CDP activities have been identified. Of these five dimensions suggested in Klein et al (2000), three seem to have most relevance to CDP, and these are described further.

1. Power Distance

Power distance defines the extent to which individuals in a system accept and expect unequal distribution of power (Hofstede 1980). In cultures with low power distance, there are more egalitarian working practices and team interchanges.

A power distance value determines how a particular national group will structure the direction and guidance needed for successful action. For some groups, decisions will be conveyed from the top of a command structure to subordinates. For others, autonomy at various levels of command are encouraged. Power distance therefore determines how groups will respond to higher command decisions where these might be appropriate or inappropriate in a situation.

2. Uncertainty Avoidance

This is the extent to which members of a culture experience uncertainty as stressful, and the extent to which they take action to avoid uncertainty (Hofstede 1980). Where group members have high ratings for uncertainty avoidance, they experience change as highly stressful and seek rules to provide structure and order for change. They may in consequence follow ineffective courses of action to alleviate uncertainty. For example, this can influence the clarity and effectiveness of decision making when conflicting information is received by a command post during a conflict.

3. Hypothetical Reasoning

"Cultures differ in the extent to which reasoning and notions of causality are contextually grounded in personal experience or are separated from context, abstract and hypothesis driven" (NCS 1988).

"Context-bound thinking" tends to focus on personal and historical experience upon which a current strategy for problem solving is built. "Hypothesis driven thinking" goes beyond context and experience and uses

abstract "what-if" exercises to explore alternative outcomes. "Hypothesis driven thinking" may lead to more novel and innovative solutions to problems than context-driven thinking.

BUILDING A SIMULATED FORCE STRUCTURE INCORPORATING CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

In order to build a more culturally realistic force model structure for simulation analysis, Lannon et al (2001) describe the following approach:

1. Identify the cultural dimensions that describe the force nation being developed - ie: the values of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and hypothetical reasoning for the relevant culture.
2. Select/define the appropriate Equipment, Force Structure and DTTP for the force being modelled. The Cultural Dimensions identified in (1) may be used to select the appropriate DTTP from the library, or should be incorporated into a close-fit DTTP model.

SUMMARY

The incorporation of the "cultural dimensions" into force structure models has a parallel with the use of human behaviour moderator functions for physiological factors modelling (Allsopp and Brewer 2001). The use of mathematical or neural networks techniques are appropriate implementation strategies for building cultural factors into human behaviour models.

However, the complexity of the interactions between sociological and cultural factors exceeds the remit of the "cultural dimensions" described above. There is currently not enough psychological test data from which to derive more complete social and cultural cognitive models of human behaviour. Until this founding research is carried out, it is unlikely that accurate computer models of human cognition that reflect human-like variation in different social and cultural contexts are likely to emerge.

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Daniel Allsopp & Kevin Brewer

Article written March 2002

How Much Violence on UK Television? A Brief Observation

INTRODUCTION

This question has been addressed by researchers as well as the general population in the United Kingdom at length. Cumberbatch (1992) points out that up to 60% of people say there's too much in television company surveys.

Cumberbatch (1987) notes that the average number of violent acts per hour peaked at 4.5 in the 1960s, and declined to 1.9 by 1986. That is 2.5 acts per hour for prime time (7-11pm) dramatic fiction, compared to 7.0 for Japan and 8.6 for West Germany.

In his comprehensive study, Cumberbatch (1987) recorded 1412 hours of programmes over four separate weeks between May to September 1986 on the four UK terrestrial channels. Then by counting the violent acts, he found that 1% of total air-time was violent acts. Each act lasted an average 25 seconds, and the mean was 1.68 acts per hour. Obviously the amount of violence varied between programmes.

More recently, work at Sheffield University by Barrie Gunter and colleagues (quoted in Fiddick 1997), found more violent acts on satellite television. Results for 1995 show 0.6% of air-time on terrestrial television is violent acts compared to 1.5% of satellite air-time. Part of the reason for the higher satellite figure is US programmes, which always contain more violent acts than UK programmes. For example, the researchers noted that 47% of US programmes contained violent acts against 12% of UK ones.

PRIMARY RESEARCH

Making use of a viewing rating system in a TV listing magazine (TV and Satellite Weekly), it is possible to see how much violence is in three satellite television film channels. There is no information in the listing magazine about the rating of the level of violence in each film (from 0-4)⁽¹⁾. The three channels are "Sky Movies", "Sky Movie Gold", and "The Movie Channel" as they were called at the time.

Table 1 shows a summary of the ratings of the level of violence from two separate weeks ⁽²⁾.

RATING OF LEVEL

OF VIOLENCE	0	1	2	3	4
TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRAMMES	134	80	55	35	11
% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRAMMES	42.5	25.4	17.5	11.1	3.5

Table 1 - Levels of violence in 315 films on two separate weeks (18-24 February 1999 and 11-17 March 2000) on three satellite television film channels.

FOOTNOTES

1. Examples of film ratings given in "TV and Satellite Weekly" include: "The Great Imposter" (1961) 0 rating; "Groundhog Day" (1993) 1; "Kansas City Bomber" (1972) 2; "Alien3" (1992) 3; and "Death Wish V" (1993) 4.

2. The two weeks chosen at random were 18-24th February 1999 and 11-17th March 2000. No repeats were included in the calculations.

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Kevin Brewer

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